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New evidence indicates U.S. knew Demjanjuk was not guard "Ivan"

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Yoram Sheftel, John Demjanjuk's Israeli lawyer, has said that the U.S. Justice Department knew as far back as 1978 that Mr. Demjanjuk was not "Ivan the Terrible," The New York Times reported on Wednesday, December 18.

ed on Wednesday, December 18.

Moreover, this information was sent to the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv and then to Israeli officials, according to Mr. Sheftel.

Meanwhile, in Washington, a senior Justice Department official revealed that the Demjanjuk case was being reviewed.

U.S. Congressman James Traficant of Youngstown (D-Ohio) also reported that two State Department teiegrams indicate U.S. investigators knew 13 years ago that Mr. Demjanjuk was nor "Ivan the Terrible," according to a recently published article in The Cleveland Plain Dealer. These cables include a Soviet response to a request from the U.S. Embassy for assistance in the case of Feodor Fedorenko, a Treblinka guard U.S. authorities investigated at the same time as Mr. Demjanjuk. Mr. Fedorenko was extradited to the Soviet Union, where he was found guilty of war crimes and executed in 1987.

The second cable is dated February 1981, around the time of Mr. Demjanjuk's denaturalization proceedings. In it the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations advises Polish war crimes investigators to contact Soviet authorities directly for testimony by Soviet witnesses. Although the United States had access to this evidence, government officials claimed that Soviet statements were not of public record.

The first cable cited by Mr. Traficant includes testimonies of three guards (now deceased) from Treblinka. This is, in part, new evidence submitted recently to the Israeli Supreme Court. It was obtained by Mr. Traficant by filing a Freedom of Information Act request for material on the Fedorenko case. He told the Plain Dealer that he avoided using the names Demjanjuk and Ivan so that his request to obtain information from the Justice Department, Immigration and Naturalization Service and the State Department would not "send up a red flag," he said.

The Israeli Supreme Court is sche-

The Israeli Supreme Court is scheduled to hear new evidence on Monday, December 23, which includes testimonies obtained by the United States in connection with another parallel war crimes case, but which made vivid references to other guards, including the man known as "ban the terrible."

(Continued on page 13)

TOWARD DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION OF UKRAINE

Baker hails Ukraine's commitment to democracy

by Chrystyna Lapychak
Kiev Press Bureau

K1EV — After receiving pledges from Ukraine's leaders on the fledgling state's commitment to achieving nuclear-free status, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker indicated here on Wednesday, December 18, that the United States was moving closer to diplomatic recognition of an independent Ukraine.

Following talks with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and other leaders during the last stop of his four-republic tour of the former Soviet Union, Secretary Baker said he was satisfied with their assurances on nuclear security and disarmament, economic and political reforms.

mic and political reforms.

"Ukraine is at the forefront of those republics that are embracing those principles and values we've outlined: democracy, free markets and nuclear safety," the American secretary of state told a press conference immediately following his meeting with President Kravchuk.

Since an overwhelming majority voted for independence in a December 1 referendum, the Ukrainian government has stepped up its efforts, begun with its declaration of independence on August 24, at meeting U.S. requirements for recognition

Ukraine has been recognized by all of its neighboring states, including Russia, with whom it has entered into what some of its leaders call a "temporary" association, the Commonwealth of Independent States, on December 8.

Canada, with a large and influential population of Ukrainian immigrants and descendants, marking 100 years of Uk kinian settlement this year, was the first Vestern country to recognize Ukraine.

Mr. Baker also appeared impressed by Ukraine's request for teams of experts and financial assistance to travel here to help Ukraine take the initiative and unilaterally begin dismanteling all of its nuclear weapons, not just those covered in the START treaty. Speaking to the press in the elegant Mariinsky Palace, the site of the talks, President Kravchuk assured Mr. Baker that Ukraine would adhere to the provisions of the START agreement between the United States and the former USSR, which would require destruction of 130 out of the 176 ICBMs on Ukrainian soil.

"Ukraine will insist on a single united control over all nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory as long as they exist," said the Ukrainian president, as he referred to the collective strategic defense force envisaged by the original agreement between three out of the four former republics with nuclear weapons in Minsk on December 8.

"Our greatest dream is that not a single silo or warhead remain in U-kraine by the year 2000," said President Kravchuk, as he spoke about Ukraine's initiative and request for American expertise, proposed by the legislature's National Council faction.

"We want to set an example of how quickly they can be destroyed, but we need technical and financial assistance," said the Ukrainian leader.

The Ukrainian side also reconfirmed its commitment toward forming its own national conventional armed forces on the basis of the Soviet troops stationed on its territory. President Kravchuk said his decree of the previous week appointing himself commander-in-chief of Ukrainian armed forces "did not deviate" from Ukraine's agreement to a unified command of strategic forces because it did not apply to them.

The Ukrainian leader also assured Secretary Baker that Ukraine would join the Conventional Forces in Europe agreement and abide by its requirements on reductions of troops and munitions.

He also requested U.S. humanitarian assistance for Chornobyl victims and U.S. help in Ukraine's efforts to obtain membership in the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, including the continuation of teams of experts from both organizations traveling to Ukraine to observe and advise.

President Kravchuk also delivered Ukraine's first official response to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's statements earlier last week about the Russian Federation remaining the sole nuclear power from among the former Soviet republics.

"We will not be determined by Russian events," said the Ukrainian president. "We will continue to pursue our path, as quickly as possible, to destroy the nuclear weapons in Ukraine. Today I told the American secretary of state

(Continued on page 3)

CHRIST IS BORN —
— ХРИСТОС РОДИВСЯ



"Heaven and Earth," a Christmas card by Vitaliy Lytvyn.



Newsbrief from l'

- PRAGUE The Czecho-Slovak government decided to recognize Ukraine on December 8, Western agencies reported. In a government statement. Czecho-Slovakia said that it hopes that Ukraine will assume its share of political, economic and other commitments - especially allowing Soviet oil and gas to flow across Ukraine. President Vaclav Havel expressed a measure of understanding for Mikhail Gorbachev's concern over ethnic strife. Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier will visit Kiev next month to sign a bilateral treaty and establish foreign relations. (RFE/RL Daily Report)
- POLAND The Ukrainian Airline Avialinie agreed to buy 17 airplanes from the Polish Airline LOT, said a LOT spokeswoman on December 10. The contract was initialed several weeks ago, but the companies were waiting for final approval from the Ministry of Transport. Poland has already replaced these planes with U.S. and French-built planes. (RFE/RL Daily Report)
- ESTONIA Estonia had made it clear that it was going to withhold recognition of Ukraine until the official referendum results came in. When they did, the Estonian government voted to recognize Ukraine on December 9, BNS reported. (RFE/RL Daily Report)
- BULGARIA A trial in Sofia ended on December 12. Sentences of three and two years respectively were given to former Deputy Prime Minister Grigor Stoiehkov and former Deputy Minister of Public Health Lyubomir Shindarov. They were indicted for failing to warn the public after the Chornobyl accident. The court found them guilty of violating radiation safety rules and of causing economic damag to the state. Bulgaria had recognized Ukraine on December 6.

On December 13 Ukraine's Foreign Minister, Anatoliy Zlenko, visited Sofia and established diplomatic and consular relations. Bulgaria's Foreign Minister, Stoyan Ganev, told him that Bulgaria looks positively on efforts to find new forms of association for the peoples of the former Soviet Union based on self-determination and sover-

The Ukrainian leadership guaranteed coal deliveries despite its difficulties and said that the national identity of Ukrainians living in Bulgaria would be protected. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

- KIEV On December 13 the Ukrainian Supreme Council decided to recognize the independence of Croatia and Slovenia, Radio Kiev reported. The next day, Western media quoted United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar as saying that he favors sending a peacekeeping force of 10,000 to Yugoslavia but there must be a true cease-fire first. He then urged Germany and other countries not to recognize Slovenia and Croatia. Bonn plans to recognize both by Christmas. (RFE/RL Daily Report)
- KIEV - Ukraine recognized Georgian independence on December 12, Radio Tbilisi reported. Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia said that Leonid Kravchuk had raised the issue of recognition during a conversation on the previous day. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

- KIEV Lithuanian Foreign Minister Algirdas Saudargas and Anatoliy Zlenko exchanged notes agreeing to establish diplomatic relations and offices in Kiev and Vilnius. They dis-cussed cooperation in politics, economics, ecology and culture. Saudargas also talked with Leonid Kraychuk and Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Comsion Chairman Dmytro Pavlychko. (RFE/RL Daily Report)
- KIEV On December 13 Leonid Kravchuk issued a decree creating a national armed forces from the Soviet troops and the Black Sea fleet and appointed himself commander-in-chief. After consulting with Boris Yeltsin, Mikhail Gorbachev and Leonid Kravchuk, Defense Minister Yevgeny Shaposhnikov dispatched a team to Kiev and urged Ukraine to avoid hasty actions. On December 14, Mr. Yeltsin met with Gen. Shaposhnikov to discuss, among other things, "possible candidates for the post of commander-inchief" of the united armed forces. (RFE/RL Daily Report)
- KIEV Leonid Kravchuk told: Soviet TV viewers on December 15 that a new "political mechanism" should be worked out among the four states of the Commonwealth where strategic weapons are deployed.

The mechanism would have control over the use of the weapons, as opposed to the current mechanism, which includes only the veto mechanism. Mr. Kravchuk stressed that the ultimate goal is disarmament. Western agencies had confirmed on December 13 that the Ukrainian Parliament had amerded the commonwealth agreement to emphasize Ukraine's right to leave the commonwealth's joint defense structure after Ukraine's nuclear arms have been dismantled. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

- KIEV Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk met with Christian Croner, ambassador of the Netherlands and an official of the European Economic Community, on December 12. President Kravchuk said that Ukraine wants to join the European structures in the future and that it is ready to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty signatories. (Ukrinform)
- SOFIA Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko told Bulgar ian Foreign Minister Stovan Ganev that Ukraine will destroy all its nuclear weapons within seven years. If other nations offer material assistance, the process of destruction can be completed in three to five years. (Ukrinform)
- KIEV According to an unconfirmed report by Radio Moscow on December 16. Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov met with a high level Defense Ministry delegation from Moscow, which insisted on a broader definition of "strategic" forces that would include some tank and infantry units which are equipped with tactical nuclear weapons. (RFE/RL Daily Report)
- KIEV On December 17, Aeroflot continued to cancel domestic flights and thus closed 87 airports because of the iack of fuel, CTV reported. 1ens of thousands of people were stranded in all regions of the former Soviet Union. (RFE/RL Daily Report)

Argentina offers congratulations

To the President of Ukraine Leonid Kraychuk

December 6, 1991

On behalf of the people and the government of Argentina, as well as from me personally, I would like to extend the most sincere congratulations on the occasion of the results of the December I referendum and of your election as resident of the Republic.

The noble Ukrainian people, in exercising their right to self-determination, have manifested unequivocally their will, setting an example of civic and democratic conduct, within the rule of law

I am convinced that within Ukraine, all its citizens will be guaranteed the human rights to which every person is entitled to under international accords.

On December 1 Ukraine realized, peacefully and in an exemplary manner,

a difficult process of transition which also effects other peoples and nations.

The international community hopes that the process culminates in a harmonious relation among those countries which have shared for a long time

the same space and the same history and that, in the future, they will adopt those institutional structures that are best suited to the interests and rights of the people involved. I am also confident that the government of Ukraine will give to the international community the guarantees it seeks on security matters and will

respect fully nuclear disarmament agreements. The close cultural ties between our two nations as well as the aspirations for peace shared by Argentina and Ukraine are a reassurance that the future relations between our two countries, which abide by the rule of law, will be

based on mutual cooperation and understanding. Therefore, I consider it timely to respond to your appeal and to formalize, as quickly as possible, the establishment of diplomatic and consular relations Mr. President, please accept the expression of my highest esteem, which I ask you convey to your government and the Ukrainian people.

Carlos Saul Menem President of Argentina

Lithuanian government forms OSI

NEW YORK - The Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Council adopted a binding resolution Wednesday, Octo-ber 23, to create an Office of Special Investigations (OSI) for investigating crimes against humanity in Lithuania, reported the New York-based Lithuanian Information Center.

The Lithuanian OSI, under the jurisdiction of the Procurator General, will cooperate with analogous agencies in other countries by sharing information and facilitating their investigative work in the republic. According to unconfirmed reports, the Lithuanian OSI, unlike its Western counterparts, will not limit itself to crimes committed during three years of Nazi occupation in Lithuania, but may also investigate war crimes during 50 years of Soviet occupation.

An estimated 600,000 Lithuanians were summarily deported to Siberia or tried under Stalin. Of those, 473,000 were executed or died of starvation and exposure to the cold. Since 1988, more than 175,000 people, of whom only a third are still alive, have been rehabilitated as part of the ongoing govern-

ment program to do justice to the innocent who were illegally sentenced. By far the most definitive step taken by the Lithuanian government thus far to disprove allegations of large-scale exonerations of Nazi war criminals, this latest decision comes on the heels of an agreement signed last Friday between the Lithuanian Procurator General and the Australian Attorney General's Office of Special Investigations.

The "agreement on mutual legal assistance and cooperation in prosecution of war criminals" provides for the Lithuanian procurator's assistance in the "pursuit, investigation and prosecution of persons now citizens of Australia who are suspected of having committed war crimes or crimes against humanity in the period from September 1, 1939 to May 1945.

The Lithuanian government has also offered to cooperate with the Israeli Parliament and the U.S. Office of Special Investigations in this matter to eliminate any doubt about the legality and propriety of the rehabilitation process in Lithuania.

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Democratic deputies offer views on Ukraine's place in commonwealth

JERSEY CITY, N.J. — Since the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, of which Ukraine is a founding member, democratic deputies in the Ukrainian Parliament have voiced their views on this new structure. Below, The Weekly offers the words of Vyacheslav Chornovil and Mykhailo Horyn, courtesy of Ukraine 2000, the Washington Committee in Support of Ukraine, and Dmytro Pavlychko, as quoted in The Washington



Vyacheslay Chornovil



Mykhailo Horyn



Dmytro Pavlychko

Post and the Wall Street Journal over

Vyacheslav Chornovil, democratic idential candidate nominated by Rukh who placed second on December 1, Lviv Oblast chairman:

Ratifying the accord on a Common-wealth of Independent States, the deputies of the Ukrainian Parliament made the right choice. We had no other option: either Gorbachev, or a civilized form of dissolution for the Union.

One more item, which is stubbornly being pushed by Russian propaganda, i.e. that of a union of Slavic states. This is quite a dangerous step. We should not try to revive Pan-Slavism as in its time this was far from a positive force. Now it is even less desirable.

I do not believe this accord will have a long life span. For Ukraine this accord is a serious step toward getting out of the Union. After a time we will forget about any commonwealth.

One more important point. The meetings in Brest ended the tense relations between us and our eastern neighbor. If it were to continue we would have an undesirable result from subsequent events. And Yeltsin's position deserves the highest praise. Russia in his person ended confrontation with Ukraine, which declared independence, and began joint efforts at finding civilized forms of neighborly relations.

Mykhailo Horyn, chairman of Rukh's Political Council:

Considering that Ukraine has no defense forces, no security agency in place and no customs borders, the Minsk accord was a necessary step. This decision is a positive one given the reservations, changes and additions which the Ukrainian Parliament adopted as regards the accord which was actually signed in Minsk.

In particular, note should be made of es voted for by the Supreme Council of Ukraine...following proposals by Ihor Yukhnovsky. In the title of the accord, which originally read "Accord on the Creation of a Commonwealth of Independent States," the word "Creawas removed. In addition, in the term "Commonwealth of Independent States" all capital letters were changed to small letters. These changes provide the basis for removing any doubt as to the fact that no new entity, akin to a state, has been created.

Ukraine needs to use this accord during the transition period which is underway. One example of such use can be the decision by Leonid Kravchuk... to take charge of all armed forces on the territory of Ukraine as Commander-in-Chief. Ukrainian institutions which would form the foundation of independent Ukraine need to be formed.

It is important to note that no step backward can be allowed. Any attempts to re-create a union of one sort or another must be firmly rejected. We must remain very careful.

Dmytro Paylychko, chairman of the foreign relations committee in the Ukrainian Parliament and senior adviser to President Leonid Kravchuk:

The commonwealth pact is a transitional tool to depose Gorbachev and establish Ukrainian sovereignty. We are not signing it for centuries. This is a bridge for us over the chaos. The chaos is the forces that want to suffocate Ukrainian independence.

We want to be part of the European

space and to be in the European market.

WCFU issues appeal for aid to Ukraine

Appeal by the Presidium of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians and the Ukrainian World Foundation with regard to the "Ukraine Development Fund.

With the Act of the Declaration of Independence, adopted by the Ukrainian Parliament on August 24, and endorsed in a general referendum

on December 1. by over 90 percent of the citizens of Ukraine, Ukraine has entered a historical period of the building of its state.

The Supreme Council of Ukraine has passed new laws regarding Ukraine's introduction of a separate currency, the creation of its own army, the establishment of diplomatic services, border and customs control as well as improvement in the social services - to create thereby the basis for the development of social, academic, cultural and educational institutions.

The appeal issued by the WCFU on December 2 stated in part that "we, the Ukrainian diaspora should do our utmost to ensure that the process of revival proceeds in all spheres - economic, cultural and religious among others. We should all help Ukraine in any way we can. Ukraine is counting on us

In their greetings, dated December 3, to the diaspora on the occasion of Ukrainian independence, the leaders of Rukh, the Popular Movement of Ukraine, together with the Citizens' Referendum Council, expressed their gratitude for our support, encouragement and cooperation.

"We look forward to welcoming you in a free, independent Ukraine so that we may work together, in a concerted effort, at building a full-fledged democratic state, one which shows a genuine concern for its citizens and is worthy of the world's respect. Throughout this time you have not failed your homeland and your loved ones, and we are certain that we will continue to work closely together for the well-being of Ukraine.

With this aim in mind, the Presidium of the Secretariat of the WCFU, on this day of December 7, announces the establishment of the "Ukraine Development Fund."

The fund is indispensable in order to rebuild and to strengthen a wide network of cultural-educational and scholarly institutions of a free society which were destroyed by the imperialist communist regime.

Let us help Ukraine stand on its own and enable it to establish the most important attributes of statehood in order to consolidate the process and avert any potential danger of chaos.

Time is of the essence. One cannot rule out the danger of economic collapse and political destabilization. If we do not act now, we stand to lose not only this unique opportunity in an endeavor of utmost importance but also everything that has been gained up to this time. This would mean, in effect, the end of the centuries-long aspirations of the Ukrainian people

We appeal to the entire Ukrainian community — to individuals, families as well as religious communities and community organizations, in short, to all those whose feelings of love for Ukraine are still very much alive, to join together in this most important task of aiding the people of an independent

If every Ukrainian family in the West declares its readiness to donate a sum of not less then \$100 annually to this worthy cause, then we will have partially fulfilled our common obligation.

The WCFU, jointly with the Ukrainian World Foundation, calls on each and every one of us to join in the rebuilding of a free Ukrainian state.

Donations may be sent to: WCFU-UDF; 2118 A Bloor St. W.; Toronto, Ontario; M6S 1M8; Canada.

The fund-raising campaign is being organized in coordination with the various Ukrainian financial-credit institutions in the diaspora which will designate special accounts for this drive.

Long Live Ukraine!

On behalf of the WCFU

Wasyl Veryhá Secretary

Yuri Shymko President

On behalf of the Ukrainian World Foundation

Mykola Kushpeta Secretary

Frank Martyniuk President

Toronto, Canada December 11, 1991

Baker hails...

(Continued from page 1)

that if somebody aspires to the single control of nuclear weapons we can hand over this control on one condition, that all of the nuclear forces in Ukraine are taken off alert."

Also taking part in the meetings on the Ukrainian side were Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, Foreign Minister Anato-liy Zlenko, Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Pliushch, who were also later

joined by Dmytro Pavlychko, chairman of the Parliament's foreign affairs committee, Deputies Ivan Drach and Mykhailo Horyn of Narodna Rada and Rukh, and Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov.

Secretary Baker was accompanied on his overnight journey to Kiev, as well as throughout his four-day official visit, by Assistant Secretary of European and Canadian Affairs Thomas Niles and State Departmen, spokesperson Margaret Tutwiler.

TWG conference focuses on Ukraine in the New World Order

WASHINGTON — The Washington Group's Fifth Annual Leadership Conference — with the theme "Ukraine in the New World Order," — was held here in October.

The opening address at the conference was delivered by Carl Gershman, president of the National Endowment for Democracy. Mr. Gershman assessed the threats to the future independent status of U-kraine, approaching the issue from the standpoint that it is imperative to grasp the different political situations in Ukraine and in Russia.

Mr. Gershman noted that the role of the Ukrainian community in the West was to help the West come to know and understand Ukrainian issues.

The first of two panel discussions was devoted to the topic of the factors that affect Ukraine's international role. The panel of experts included: Douglas Seay, an analyst at the Heritage Foundation; Orest Deychakiwsky, staff member of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe; and Victor Basiuk, a Washington-based foreign policy and national security analyst. Paula Dobriansky, associate director of the U.S. Information Agency, chaired the panel.

Mr. Seay viewed the dissolution of the Soviet Union as a positive development for Europe and for the United States, noting that he was troubled that very few officials either here or in Europe seemed to appreciate this development.

Mr. Deychakiwsky focused on the difficulties Ukraine faces in achieving independent recognition in international fora.

With regard to official membership status in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), he noted that obstacles to Ukraine's recognition stemmed from objections by the Soviet delegation as well as reluctance on the part of the most powerful members of CSCE to open the organization to the flood of new members, which would change the configuration of influence.

Mr. Deychakiwsky went on to say that Ukraine's chances would most likely improve over time, given the referendum results and Ukraine's track record on human rights and respect for international agreements.

With respect to U.S. recognition of Ukraine, Mr. Deychakiwsky referred to the introduction of congressional resolutions on the formal recognition of Ukraine. In focusing on the international system, Mr. Basiuk noted that "U-kraine had to take the initiative and develop vested interests in the international system, thereby assuring its own independence regardless of 'old' or 'new' order."

Mr. Basiuk expressed the view that "as the largest regional power, U-kraine has to maintain good relations with its immediate neighbors and conduct a foreign policy which reflects | a good understanding of its important position in Eastern Europe and on the European continent as a whole."

The second panel discussion on political developments inside Ukraine, included the following panelists: Roman Fedoriv, editor-inchief of Dzvin, the Lviv monthly magazine, and former Soviet People's deputy; Oles Doniy, president of the Kiev Ukrainian Student Union, who led the student hunger strike last October in Kiev, which resulted in the ouster of the premier of the then-Ukrainian SSR Vitaliy Masol; Marta Kolomayets, associate editor of The Ukrainian Weekly and recurring Kiev correspondent; and Richard Shriver, publisher of the Ukrainian Business Digest. Kateryna Chumachenko, vice-president of the U.S.-Ukraine Foundation, acted as moderator of the panel.

Mr. Doniy, among other issues, stated that "many young people in Ukraine look to emigration as an easy solution to all the difficulties they face, but that this option can only hurt Ukraine's future. He argued that Ukraine's youth should be presented with a new ideal — that of nation-building — which would allow them to contribute to the development of a vibrant and modern Ukrainian culture. He called on Ukrainians in the diaspora to come to Ukraine to share their valuable expertise."

expertise."
Ms. Kolomayets, in discussing inter-confessional problems in U-kraine, said that the hostilities among different religious communities are a long way from being resolved, attributing the state of affairs to, what in her view, is the inability, on the part of church hierarchs, to provide leadership and a united front during the time of transition to democracy.

Ms. Kolomayets observed that "the church with the greatest appeal to young people seems to be the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, since they closely identify with 'the church of the Ukrainian kozaks.' "She also noted that "many



Student leader Oles Don'y and Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, chairman of the Council of Advisors to the Presidium of Ukraine's Parliament, discuss current events in Ukraine.



Ambassadors Gennadi Udovenko and William Courtney deliver keynote addresses at the TWG conference.

Protestant and non-denominational sects from abroad, who display little sensitivity to proselytizing in Ukrainian, are growing in popularity."

Mr. Fedoriv gave an overview on what he considered the sad state of Ukrainian culture.

Mr. Shriver, while noting the risks and difficulties in bringing about the necessary economic and political reforms in Ukraine, emphasized that "the situation is not bleak, especially in light of new Ukrainian legislation that is conducive to foreign economic activity in Ukraine, particularly the laws guaranteeing foreign investment"

answered questions on the topic of

nuclear weapons, among others.
Ambassador Courtney, the second-day keynote speaker, discussed
Ukraine's future relations with the
United States and the principles
guiding American policy

guiding American policy.
Dr. Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, chairman of the Council of Advisors to the Presidium of Ukraine's Parliament and founder of the International Management Institute in Kiev, shared his personal observations about developments in Ukraine.

Among the events highlighted, which contributed to the acceleration of the political processes in Ukraine,



Douglas Seay, Victor Basiuk, Paula Dobriansky and Orest Deychakiwsky are featured panelists exploring Ukraine's role on the international scene.

Mr. Shriver said that Ukrainian Americans can have an affect on attitudes and policies by informing the American business community of the issues at hand.

To the end of developing strong U.S.-Ukrainian relations and promoting stability in Eastern Europe, Mr. Shriver suggested the following slogan: "Democracies don't go to war with one another, and that's why it's in the U.S. interest to support democracy in Ukraine."

Among the diplomats addressing the conference were Ambassador Gennadi Udovenko, Ukraine's ambassador to the United Nations, and Ambassador William Courtney, U.S. representative to the U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Testing Commission.

Ambassador Udovenko, the first-day keynote speaker at the conference, read the text of the Act of Declaration of Independence of Ukraine and went on to describe what Ukrainian diplomacy had done in the ensuing time to promote and make the world aware of Ukraine's decision. He aiso outlined the goals of the Ukrainian government and

were: the March 1990 elections, the first session of the Ukrainian Parliament, the March 1991 referendum, the August Bush visit, the August coup attempt, and the Declaration of Independence.

Dr. Hawrylyshyn concluded his remarks by noting that independence was not the end purpose but rather "the absolutely necessary precondition to resuscitate oureselves culturally, to enter the world community, to satisfy material needs and create a just, democratic, tolerant society with social justice."

An unexpected but most welcome guest at the conference was Robert E. Nicholls, president of Associates International Corporation, who presented TWG president Lydia Chopivsky Benson with a Ukrainian flag he received from Ukrainians concerned about the consequences of Chornobyl.

Mr. Nicholl's firm specializes in improving the management of nuclear power stations and was instrumental in providing health care for victims of the Chornobyl disaster.

All the information in this article was compiled from the TWG Newsletter, October 1991.

NEWS AND VIEWS

Ukrainian independence: big questions

by Andrii Makuch

The overwhelming support demonstrated for Ukrainian independence in the December 1 referendum was greeted by Ilkrainians throughout the world as a healthy and positive development. It became an object of abundant joy and celebration. Ukraine's entry into a 'Commonwealth of Independent States' on December 8, on the other hand, has caused anxiety among many Ukrainians, who fear that the longawaited dream of independence could fall into the pit of a renewed union with Russia. It also raises some major questions about the state of politics in Ukraine as well as the politics of Ukraine's statehood.

 Issue No. 1: Ukrainian statehood. Notwithstanding the Act of Declaration of Independence of August 24 and its ratification on December 1, Ukraine had only begun to develop the attributes of a fully functioning state before it agreed to enter into any Commonwealth arrangement. Several key attributes of statehood have not yet been realized, including a national army, a separate currency and banking system, and control over borders. Likewise, the criteria for Ukrainian citizenship remain undefined as well as the details of an immigration policy. Finally, Ukraine has gained diplomatic recognition from only a small number of states to date, with the countries of the European Community and the United States being particularly conspicuous by their absence. To have started talking about reconstituting some economic, military and political arrangement with the member states of the former Soviet Union — particularly Russia — before such rudimentary aspects of statehood as mentioned above had been realized could profoundly damage the integrity of the Ukrainian state-in-the-making. To draw an analogy: it's like talking about a new co-habitation arrangement before the divorce papers have even been drawn up.

• Issue No. 2: The impact of the Commonwealth on Ukrainian independence.

The essential question in this matter is what will the Commonwealth become and how will it conduct its affairs: Will it be a political entity incorporating the republics of the former USSR or will it be a gathering place for sovereign nations to establish agreement on common economic and military concerns, which can then be pursued on a bilateral basis through regular diplomatic channels?

In the first scenario the Commonwealth might (through inertis) reconstruct many aspects of the interrepublican relations that existed within the USSR. This would pose a profound threat of an incremental erosion of Ukrainian independence. The second scenario could provide a reasonable and much-needed way for the member states to coordinate issues of common concern without threatening their sovereignty.

The nature of the Commonwealth will likely be determined by several essential matters. First and foremost is its membership and its international status. If full membership is limited to

Andrij Makuch is a historian, who is currently an editor at the Encyclopedia of Ukraine, based in Toronto. internationally recognized sovereign states (i.e., those with embassies or diplomatic representatives in their capitals and membership in the United Nations the Commonwealth could function as a clearinghouse.

If it simply incorporates the republics of the former USSR on the basis of their self-proclaimed independence and desire to join, we could be looking at a refried neo-Soviet state (it is a matter of some concern that the Western media has already begun shifting its word usage from the former Soviet Union to the old Soviet Union). Stemming from this is the question of whether the member-nations of the Commonwealth will have embassies (or at least a diplomatic representation) in the capitals of each of their counterparts or whether they will perceive that a representative in Minsk will ipso facto serve as an ambassador to all the Commonwealth states. The implications are hopefully self-evident.

To spell it out: it will mean the difference between the member-states defining themselves and their counterparts as wholly independent nations of defining themselves as part of a new and much looser collective entity. It follows

that the Commonwealth should ensure that it be recognized internationally as a transnational alliance (something like an Organization of African States with shared control over nuclear weapons) rather than a body politic in its own right.

Language will have a large bearing in the dealings of the Commonwealth as the use of Russian as the group's official language and "lingua franca" could have a devastating influence on the balance of power within the Commonwealth (particularly vis-a-vis Ukraine). Historically, Russian has been a language of empire, and Russification was used by both Imperial Russian and Soviet authorities as an instrument of social control. Its continued use would provide a convenient means of communication for the Commonwealth nations in the short term, but it would perpetuate the imperial tradition and make it too easy for Russia to dominate the body and possibly use it in the future as a springboard for re-establishing its imperial hegemony.

To ensure a linguistic equality in line with the notion of equal partnership in the Commonwealth, a radically different approach must be used. Possibly, the national language of each country in the Commonwealth would have to be recognized as an official working lan-

guage, with simultaneous translations into the full range of languages being available for all debates. Official documents could then be issued either in their original language(s) or translated into English (effectively the Latin of the modern age and a language without immediate imperial connotations for any of the Commonwealth nations).

The question of whether the Commonwealth will be a coordinating agency or an entity charged with specific tasks and endowed with real powers is also of concern to Ukrainian independence. It comes down to the difference between meeting to determine common policy and establishing joint institutions to deal with matters of common concern. For example, will the Commonwealth finance ministers meet regularly in an effort to keep their monetary policies in tandem or will the Commonwealth coordinate a central bank and a common currency?

This raises a host of other questions about the extent to which member states are bound to follow Commonwealth resolutions as well as the nature and extent of a bureaucracy that will be attached to it (i.e., are we talking skeletal staff or will we be seeing a wholesale transfer of old Soviet institutions and departments several hundred kilometers west from Moscow to Minsk?).

The open-borders policy espoused by the Commonwealth would be an absolute disaster for Ukraine. Some questions might be raised about a free flow of goods (particularly if Ukraine wished to encourage specific industries), but it is the free flow of people that is the major concern. The potential exists for tens of millions of non-Ukrainian immigrants to flood into Kiev, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovske, and other Ukrainian cities in search of work, fundamentaly altering the ethnic balance in Ukraine.

The lack of a defined and functional Ukrainian border (with customs check points) with Russia and Belarus undermines Ukraine's claim to sovereignty. The lack of citizenship, immigration, and extradition measures leaves Ukraine totally vulnerable to forces that may well have not been considered (or considered significant) to date.

• Issue No. 3: Democracy in Ukraine. President Leonid Kravchuk's manner in setting up the Commonwealth and then railroading it through the legislature is hardly a case study in the democratic process. It would be impossible in Western liberal democracies, where it would be studied by committee, debated in society, and then passed through a legislature in several stages.

The best case scenario is that this might simply have been a tactical ploy by Mr. Kravchuk to deal a death blow to the crumbling Soviet state, a means of peacefully dismantling what remained of the USSR.

It is also possible that Mr. Kravchuk may have reached an accord with Russian President Boris Yeltsin in order to hold off market reforms in Russia until Ukraine was ready to undertake the same (the disruption to the Ukrainian economy otherwise could have been crippling). Notwithstanding such 'good' reasons, there is cause to be concerned if the political culture of the new Ukrainian state should come to focus on the imperial style of a strongman president.

Is Ukraine's independence safe now?

by Arthur Takac

Instead of severing all ties with Moscow and moving more boldly toward independence. Leonid Kravchuk, the new Ukrainian president, runs to Minsk to sign a new treaty with Russia and Belarus in order to form a Commonwealth.

It should be remembered that before the elections, apparently for tactical reasons, the same Mr. Kravchuk had disavowed even the economic union pact that his prime minister had signed. But now, the president, the former Communist hard-liner, no longer feels compelled to conceal his allegiance to his old friends. In order to secure his position and the privileged social status of the Communist old guard, Mr. Kravchuk appears to be prepared to sacrifice the national interests of the Ukrainian people once again.

It may be recalled that during the revolution in 1917-1918 even small subject nations such as the Estonians, Lithuanians and Latvians took advantage of the collapse of the Russian Empire and succeeded in gaining independence, while 30 million Ukrainians failed. First and foremost they failed because they were unable to severe their ties with Moscow.

The Baltic nations, after having noticed the weakness of the Provisional Government, were seeking for options beyond a Russian federation. The Ukrainians, however, had only one option for the future of Ukraine: political autonomy within the Federal Russian Republic. Even the Central Rada's Fourth Universal of January 22, 1918, which actually was a declaration of Ukrainian independence before the Bolshevik takeover of Kiev, stated that the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly was to "determine the nature of the federal ties with the people's republics of the former Russian Empire."

Arthur Takac is a graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh. He is an immigrant from Czecho-Slovakia, who was born in Uzhhorod, Ukraine. Isn't this happening again? The Baltic nations once again have displayed their political maturity and have done their best to get out of Moscow's clutches. They succeeded. In Ukraine, the new Bohdan Khmelnytsky, after all the gloomy and tragic historical experiences of the Ukrainian nation, keeps pointing at Moscow.

Does the new leadership lack a genuine faith in the viability of an independent Ukrainian nation-state? There is no doubt that Ukraine, even economically, is at least as self-sufficient as the rest of the former Soviet Union. Ukraine does not need Moscow's tutelage. Why then this haste to bind Ukraine's future with Moscow's fortunes?

The answer is clear. President Kravchuk and the old guard proved to be adept at taking advantage of the surviving political lethargy caused by longterm and massive national oppression as well as of the organizational incoherence of the democratic forces and won the first elections ever to be held after more than 70 years of Communist dictatorship.

Despite this victory, Mr. Kravchuk and his entourage cannot feel secure as to their political future in an independent Ukraine. After all, they are representatives of the Communist dictatorship that deprived the Ukrainian nation of all attributes of national existence, and was responsible for the atrocities and famine of the Stalinist leadership. As a matter of fact, they may be viewed as collaborators or red Quislings. Any further democratization will expose their venality and cowardice, and will threaten their positions. In unity with Moscow, however, they do hope to be able to withstand the democratic challenge and transfer their powers into the

In my view, not much credit should be given to Mr. Kravchuk and his Communist gang. Ukraine's independence and democratic future will be safe only after the democratic forces are victorious.

Ukrainian Weekly A new joy descends

Indeed, the words of this Ukrainian Christmas carol convey the spirit of this Christmas season not only for our brothers and sisters in Ukraine, but also for Ukrainians throughout the world as we celebrate Ukraine's historic declaration of independence.

For more than 1,000 years, the joyous tidings of the Nativity have resounded on Ukrainian lands, yet few times in history have the Ukrainian people faced the future with such hope and promise.

For them, liberty and independence have been the exception rather than the rule. For them, the solemn night, this holy night, was often worshipped in a quiet, secretive atmosphere, as they feared being persecuted for their religious beliefs.

Today, as another Christmas fills us with the spirit of hope, happiness and love engendered in the glorious birth of the Christ Child, we are grateful that Ukraine is now free. Today our loved ones in Ukraine also rejoice jubilantly: Christ is Born — Let Us Praise Him.

This year, the Christmas bells throughout Ukraine will ring out with wishes of peace on earth and good will to all men.

And a new joy descends.



Dec. **25** 1917

Turning the pages back...

On December 25, 1917, the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine, led by Volodymyr Antonov-Ovsiyenko, began. As described by Orest Subtelny in Ukraine: A History, the

invasion, "led by the talented Vladimir Antonov-Ovsiyenko and his brutal associate Mikhail Muraviev, the Bolsheviks, numbering about 12,000, advanced from the northeast. To oppose them, Symon Petliura, the Ukrainian minister of war, haft a force of about 15,000 widely scattered men, consisting of the "Free Cossack" peasant militia, the Sich Riflemen, a unit of former Galician prisoners of war, a few small frontline units, and hundreds of young gymnasium students who were sent to the front directly from their schools in Kiev.

"One may well wonder, at this point, about where the 300,000 soldiers of the

"One may well wonder, at this point, about where the 300,000 soldiers of the Ukrainized units were who had pledged support to the Central Rada in the summer. Most of them had returned to their villages and adopted a "neutral" stance, as did many of those who remained under arms. Some went over to the Bolsheviks. The unreliability of the majority of these Ukrainian soldiers — contrasting sharply with the heroic efforts of the relative few who actually fought in support of the Central Rada — was largely a result of the effectiveness of Bolshevik agitators. As Richard Pipes has noted, in the early months of the Civil War, the population at large was confused, bewildered and hesitant. A good agitator was worth hundreds of armed men; he could sway enemy troops and thus decide crucial conflicts.

Indeed, the Bolsheviks spared neither men nor money to infiltrate Ukrainized units, many of whose peasant soldiers were exceedingly naive politically, and to persuade them either to desist from fighting or to join the Bolsheviks. Consequently, by December, the latter's forces in Ukraine grew to about 40,000

The Encyclopedia of Ukraine adds an interesting note on Antonov-Ovsiyenko, the Bolshevik leader. In the spring of 1918 he was a member of the Soviet Ukrainian government, and was a diplomat from 1924 to 1937. He was executed by firing squad in 1938 on the charge of being a Trotskyist.

Christmas pastoral greetings 1991 from Metropolitan Stephen

To the Reverend Clergy, Venerable Religious, and my dear faithful brothers and sisters in the Lord.

Again we welcome each other with the simple, yet profound greeting Christ is Born! The Eternal God has become man. God is with us!

The scriptural accounts of the birth of our Lord and Savior focus our eyes on that simple cave, where the wonderful Counselor, the mighty God, the Eternal Father, the Prince of Peace was born into this world in that small town of Rethlehem almost 2 000 years ago.

Bethlehem almost 2,000 years ago.
The evangelists Matthew and Luke describe the supernatural heavenly events that occurred on that first Christmas night. According to St. Luke, there were shepherds abiding in the fields, keeping watch over their flocks. Suddenly there appeared multitudes of heavenly hosts of angels in the sky, focusing their attention and praise on the new born Christ with His humble Mother and foster Father.

And from the East, according to St. Matthew, wise men were following a bright star, which led them to the place where He lay. The Magijourneyed to be in the presence of the Holy Family. Indeed of all the Liturgical feasts,

Indeed of all the Liturgical feasts, truly Christmas may be considered the celebration of family. For in sending His only Son into the world, God the Father showed His eternal love for us, His children. When our first human parents sinned, God did not abandon them or their successive generations. Rather He fulfilled His promise of a Savior, which was fulfilled in the Nativity of Jesus Christ, the birth of His Only-begotten Son.

When one focuses on the image of the Virgin Mary and her maternal care of Her Son, we are also reminded of Her eternal vigilance over us under her Holy Mantle of Protection.

And when one considers the loving relationship of St. Joseph to Mary and

Jesus, we are reminded of his total dedication and the sacrifice he made under difficult and trying circumstances

Christmas is truly a reminder of the importance of the family in our society and of the family values which in this present day and age are under constant attack.

For this celebration of Christmas, each person tries to gather with their loved ones — relatives travel great distances just to show that love and bond of parent and child, brother and sistent. In our Ukrainian custom, we empha-

In our Ukrainian custom, we emphasize the unity of family by our traditional Holy Supper, and we even remember our departed loved ones with the empty place at the table, thereby fostering a spiritual togetherness with our deceased family members.

This warmth, love, and togetherness affects not only our respective families but, in a sense, there is a special Christmas spirit that unites the entire family. Acts of kindness, charity, cheerfulness and a feeling of unity and good will are shared, not only in our families, but also in our parishes and communities.

This Christmas, we are also united with our brothers and sisters in U-kraine, sharing with them the joy of religious freedom and now the reality of independent nationhood.

The source of this love, this good will at Christmas emanates from that Holy Child in Bethlehem. It is the love of God himself.

May His love and peace be with you and your loved ones not only this Christmas but throughout all the days of your life.

Christ is Born! †Stephen Metropolitan-Archbishop

Given in Philadelphia, December 1991.

ACTION ITEM

In a recent news story on ABC News, aired on Monday, December 16, it was reported that new evidence has surfaced in the John Demjanjuk case.

New evidence, including testimonies from 21 now deceased camp guards who worked at Treblinka, alleges that the notorious "Ivan the Terrible" was not John Demjanjuk.

Yoram Sheftel, Mr. Demjanjuk's attorney, insists that Mr. Demjanjuk be set free in view of the new evidence and returned to the United States.

Also, Mr. Sheftel says that officials at the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations knew about the testimonies of the Treblinka guards but withheld them 13 years ago.

This is a travesty of justice and any of us who had any doubts about the innocence of John Demjanjuk can see now that Mr. Demjanjuk is innocent and was wrongly convicted of a crime he did not commit.

We all need to write to our senators and representatives to voice our opinions as to this travesty of justice.

Letters should be short and to the point, typed or handwritten on stationery or postcards. Ask your senators and representative to look into the the case of Mr. Demjanjuk and his innocence.

(Continued on page 11)

UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine



The Home Office of the Ukrainian National Association reports that, as of December 19, the fraternal organization's newly established Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine has received 10,055 checks from its members were donations totalling \$258,205.03. The contributions include individual members' donations, as well as returns of members' dividend checks and interest payments on promissory notes.

Please make checks payable to UNA Fund for the Rebirth of Ukraine.

A VIEW FROM WASHINGTON

Ukrainian political success

by Eugene M. Iwanciw
UNA Washington Office

During the past three months, the Ukrainian American community has matured politically. The issue of United States recognition of Ukraine has mobilized the Ukrainian American community like few issues of the past. Through letters, calls and visits, the community expressed its view to the White House and members of Congress.

This campaign, in which all segments of the Ukrainian American community participated, resulted in 28 Senators cosponsoring S. Con. Res. 65; 83 Representatives co-sponsoring H. Con. Res. 212; Senate passage of an amendment to an appropriations bill urging President George Bush to recognize Ukraine; and the first steps by the president toward recognition.

Now that Ukrainian Americans have mobilized politically and have shown themselves to be a viable force, the question is: what's next? The reality is that even when the United States formally recognizes Ukraine, our work as a community will not end. There are a range of issues, both domestic and foreign, in which our community maintains an interest. A few examples include grants to our museums, dance groups and language schools; tax policy towards our fraternals and credit unions; U.S. technical assistance to Ukraine; and U.S. immigration policy.

The community has proven that it can be politically effective. The next step is to build on the work of the past, particularly the most recent past. The first lesson in political lobbying is that it is an ongoing process and that success breeds success.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The community has shown political officials that it is organized, it represents people it can be mobilized, and it has influence beyond the community. In this campaign, the community demonstrated that it can influence other ethnic and non-ethnic groups, newspapers, local governments, state governments and members of Congress.

However, one major aspect of lobbying, which is often overlooked, is reward for supporting the position of the community. The flip side of that is that those not supporting the issue should not be rewarded. First and foremost, the 199 members of Congress who co-sponsored the resolutions should receive thank you letters. That should be followed up with political support for these members of Congress during next year's elections, including working in and contributing to their campaigns. It must be kept in mind that these individuals are our true friends; they did not give us oratory but support when it was critical.

Every community, be it ethnic, professional or religious, has common interests. Those interests are affected on a daily basis by governmental policies. The interests of the Ukrainian American community are not less affected. To insure that government policies affect those concerns in a positive manner, it is necessary to become actively involved in the political process.

The Ukrainian American community can no longer claim that it is too small or too poor to be effective, for it was their actions which reversed U.S. foreign policy. Now it is time to build on that success for the challenges of the future.

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Ukrainian letters, English style

Dear Editor:

For languages that do not use the Roman alphabet, the Library of Congress has issued new transliteration schemes, under the title ALA-LC Romanization Lables (Washington, 1991). Many scholarly and popular periodicals and publishers usually follow the Library of Congress tables. For the transliteration of Ukrainian, two items may be of special interest.

First, the place of the soft sign in the Ukrainian alphabet has been changed. This letter has been moved from the last position to the third last; we, therefore, now have, b, to, 8. This change has been made in order to simplify automatic cataloging of all Cyrillic titles; the official change has been made by the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (and appears in this order in the newest Ukrainian grammars and dictionaries); this move has been also approved by the Ukrainian Parliament last spring.

The second important change is in the way the Ukrainian letter is rendered in English; it appears in the same form as in Ukrainian (as it is used in such words as naive or Aida. By following this transluteration, the Ukrainian name tor Ukraine should be accordingly rendered as Ukraina. This, by the way, is quite close to the term used for Ukraine in some of the early mentions of the name in English-language publications (it

appeared as Ukraina or Ucraina, or even Ukrainia, Ucrainia).

We often complain that some publications persist in the use of "The Ukraine." A while ago the article the" was also used in reference to "The Argentina." However, that country changed its English rendering to Argentina, and the article "the" was automatically dropped. Perhaps a similar approach should be applied to Ukraina, or Ukraina, thus getting rid of that unpleasant appendix.

Larissa M.L.Z. Onyshkevych Lawrenceville, N.J.

German "the" not offensive

Dear Editor:

Donald Carnahan writes to condemn the ongoing use of "the Ukraine," calling to action not only us, but our brethren in Germany. Whoa, Nellie. I have been waging a battle with our stegosaurus-brained newspaper for some months, but I think we should cut Germany some slack. The German article ("die," not "der") is shared by such illustrious countries as Switzerland (Schweiz), Turkey (Turkei), Czechoslovakia (Tschechoslowakei) and Mongolia (Mongolei). Even Iraq s.ems to merit a sporadic "der." So let's stick to our local fight, shall we?

Stephen Sokolyk Edina, Minn.

Faces and Places

by Myron B. Kuropas



Peace on earth?

As we celebrate the birth of the Prince of Peace, it would appear that we Ukrainians have much reason to re-

Once again Ukraine is an independent nation-state. The beauty of this wonderful reality is that Ukraine, as they say, "owes nothing to nobody."

No one liberated Ukraine. No one granted Ukraine her freedom. With the exception of the diaspora, few people even encouraged Ukraine to strive for liberty. The Soviet Union simply rotted from within and 91 percent of the people of Ukraine — Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, Greeks, Jews — voted for independence.

loyal Japanese American citizens and it was the United States that sanctioned the forced repatriation of thousands of Ukrainians to Stalin's Gulag when the war ended.

If Ukraine is to survive whole, Ukraine's present leadership must assume a more assertive posture in international affairs. No more hat-in-hand subservience. No more Mr. Nice Guy.

President Kravchuk should walk, talk and be President Yeltsin's equal in the new commonwealth. Any hesitation will be viewed as a sign of weakness to be exploited by "big brother" in Moscow. Moscow has betrayed Ukraine

If Ukraine is to survive whole, Ukraine's present leadership must assume a more assertive posture in international affairs. No more hat-in-hand subservience. No more Mr. Nice Guy.

To those countries who recognized Ukraine, President Leonid Kravchuk should say thank you. To those nations who put conditions on recognition, the president of Ukraine should refuse.

If the United States now wants Boris Yeltsin to control all nuclear warheads in the new commonwealth, Ukraine should say "forget it." It was Moscow, not Ukraine, that produced the warheads. It was Moscow, not Ukraine, that placed the warheads on Ukraine, that placed the warheads on Ukraine, that aimed the missiles at the United States.

Kiev has never fought nor wanted to fight the United States. Moscow has consistently supported America's enemies and threatened war at every turn. What kind of logic dictates that Americans should now trust Moscow but not Kiev?

If the United States wants human rights assurances, Ukraine should point out that: 1) the last time Ukraine was in a position to control its own destiny, its human rights record was second to none; 2) Ukrainian nationalists, many of whom are now in the forefront of Ukraine's democratic leadership, are so committed to human rights that they were willing to put their lives on the line in support of their convictions.

Ukrainian leaders should then quietly point out that America's own human rights record is less than pristine.

It was the United States that con-

It was the United States that consistently broke treaties with Native Amerians forcing them off their ancestral lands. It was America that tolerated slavery on its soil for almost 250 years. It was the United States that recognized the Soviet Union knowing full well that Joseph Stalin was waging a genocidal starvation campaign that killed some 7 million Ukrainian men, women and children. It was the United States that established concentration camps for

many times before and it can happen again. We don't need another Pereya-slav.

Ukraine should also make it clear to the United States that all of George Bush's men and all of his "horses" will not put Russia's Humpty Dumpty together again. The new commonwealth is not a Soviet Union refried.

As an American, I am more terrified than ever with the current White House posture regarding Russia. One would think that the suicidal internationalism of President Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt would provide enough of a history lesson. But no. The White House remains attracted to Moscow like a moth to a flame.

What is even more scary is that most Americans haven't the foggiest notion of what is going on. Many simply don't care. Some believe that Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr. Yeltsin are heroes deserving of support lest other, yet unknown, less "savory" elements take over. Others have little if any sense of history. Still others simply can't comprehend geopolitical realities.

It is a sad commentary on the current American political scene that with the exception of Patrick Buchanan, no presidential aspirant has raised the botched Bush approach to the former Soviet republics as a serious campaign issue. And the election is less than a year away.

Also sad is that in the wake of our almost unbridled enthusiasm over the events of December I we Ukrainian Americans must now, three weeks later, temper our joy with fear for the worse.

The saddest aspect of all of this, however, is that just when we thought "peace on earth" was becoming a reality, we are once again being led by an American president whose "good will" is dangerously misplaced.

Ukraine should also make it clear to the United States that all of George Bush's men and all of his "horses" will not put Russia's Humpty Dumpty together again. The new commonwealth is not a Soviet Union refried.

by Khristina Lev

On December 1 the people of Ukraine voted 90.32 percent to uphold the Act of Declaration of the Independence of Ukraine. Fifty-four days prior to the historic vote, a group of Ukrainian North Americans traveled to Ukraine's eastern oblasts to campaign for independence.

The mission of the group of 39 Ukrainian Canadians and Ukrainian Americans
— including this writer — was to travel to those areas where the Soviet mind-set
remained deeply entrenched and to disseminate information on independence,
democracy and freedom.

The group was organized and sponsored by Borys Wrzesnewskyj, owner of Toronto's Future Bakeries. It comprised businesspersons, administrators, teachers, musicians, artists, writers and students between the ages of 21 and 5 Personalities, professions and lifestyles were as divergent as each individual's perception of his or her Ukrainianism. Many were the children of parents born in Ukraine, some boasted one Ukrainian parent, and one proudly informed this writer, in beautiful Ukrainian, that she was a fourth-generation Ukrainian Canadian.

November 10 - December 5 marked my first visit to the land of my forebears. The first three weeks of my trip were spent in Kiev, Donetske Oblast and the city of Mariupil. Independence day was celebrated in Lviv, the birthplace of my father.

I am grateful that the first leg of my trip was spent traveling in eastern Ukraine, for the Donbas, with its stark gray buildings, its coal mines, factories and fields of winter wheat, is the heart of Ukraine, its life source. But if the Donbas is Ukraine's heart, then the cobblestone streets and domed churches of Lviv are Ukraine's soul.

Below I offer my impressions of a Ukraine on the eve of nationhood.

The "Active Freedom" campaign was organized around the printing and distribution of 10 different Ukrainian- and Russian-language flyers highlighting the positive aspects of an independent Ukraine. While the campaign's editorial board and technical crew remained in Kiev, working out of a warehouse on the outskirts of the city that housed two printing presses, computers and office equipment brought over from the West, the campaigners traveled in groups of two to four persons to the five targeted oblasts: Donetske, Dnipropetrovske, Luhanske, Mykolayiv and Zaporizhzhia.

I was assigned to travel to Donetske. My traveling companion was Taras Gula, a teacher of mathematics from Toronto. Taras and I boarded an overnight train for Donetske on the evening of November 14, hauling four 50-pound bags of flyers.

Donetske

Taras and I, and the four bags of flyers, were whisked from the train station to the home of Maria Vasilivna Oliynyk, the head of the Ukrainian Republican Party in the Donbas, by a group of Ternopilians who had traveled to Donetske to agitate for independence.

We quickly discovered that the Oliynyks' two-room apartment was the URP's regional headquarters. The apartment was stacked to precarious heights with flyers and posters on democracy, minority rights and the URP's presidential candidate, Levko Lukia-

nenko. Two telephones rang simultaneously from 7 a.m. to well after 10 p.m. The pitotocopying machine was on the blink, and anyone who could read English was assigned the dubious task of repairing it.

Three or four Ternopilians, who had set up camp in the kitchen, answered phone calls and distributed bundles of flyers to all those who had succeeded in climbing the seven flights of stairs. Reporters and visitors from the West were escorted in and out of the living area/bed chambers. Visitors often came bearing gifts — a sack of potatoes, a handful of fruit, a loaf of bread.

handful of fruit, a loaf of bread.

In the middle of all this was Maria Vasilivna, a woman capable of making the burliest man quake in his boots. Maria Vasilivna was a general, and these were her troops. Her command post was the telephone; woe to any caller bearing bad news. Her favorite telephone phrase was "You are tearing out my liver," but no one could ever accuse her of being frail. She was capable of mobilizing hundreds of people within several phone calls and singlehandedly organized Mr. Lukianenko's campaign visit to Donetske.

Taras and I were not allowed to be tired or hungry in Maria Vasilivna's home, so we learned to leave the apartment early and come home late.

We traveled with the Ternopilians, who had arrived in Donetske on a bus accompanied by a choir of former political prisoners, to the outlying cities and villages of Karlo-Libknekhtivske, Artemivske, Slovianske and Zvanivka. While we handed out flyers in the



Eugene Duvalko, Viktor Bryk, Valeriy Oliynyk, Khristina Lew (center) and Larissa Talpash take a break from handing out flyers at Donetske's central market.

Delving into eastern Ukrai



Children in Artemivske display Levko Lukianenko posters. On the right, Vyacheslav Chornovil's campaign bus pulis into Rukh headquarters in Kiev.



Residents of Donetske gather at the city's central square for a meeting with presidential candidate Levko Lukianenko.



Roman Zyla hand



The Russian Dramatic Theater of Mariupil

THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY

on the eve of nationhood





referendum flyers.



Eugene Duvalko leans over the podium to answer a miner's question.

marketplaces or central squares of each city, the choir presumably was to delight the passers-by with song, although we never did hear them sing. In Zvanivka, a western Ukrainian village transplanted to eastern Ukraine during World War II, they arranged for Taras and I to attend a beautiful prayer service in the temporary chapel of the village's first Ukrainian Catholic Church

In our first days of flyer distribution, we experienced several interesting phenomena. Everyone accepted a flyer. Most muttered "Banderivets" or "westerner" under their breath and folded it into a pocket. Some balled-up the flyer and threw it in our general vicinity. Several stopped to ask us where we were from no one believed that we had come from Canada or the United States to hand out flyers. How much were we being paid? Why did we think we had a right to come? Did we own a car?

We answered all questions patiently, and we hope, wisely

There was, however, a handful of neaple in each city who, in my mind, ave meaning to our threless efforts These were the people who words accept a flyer, pause in mid-step to read it, nod their head in agreement, and continue to walk, reading along the

Mariupil

After three days of flyer distribution. Taras and I decided to venture out on our own to the southernmost region of the oblast. We chose the port city of Mariupil, on the Azov Sea, where Taras was anxious to meet with Ukraine's national minorities.

Our campaign in Mariupil took on a very different flavor from our flyer-days in Donetske. Our five-day excursion was organized by the 19-year-old head of Mariupil's chapter of the Ukrainian Republican Party, Volodya Babkin, and Serhiy Rozhnovshky, an instructor at the city's Metallurgical Institute. Volodya is the son of ethnic Russians who taught himself to speak flawless Ukrainian, an avid student of Ukrainian history, politics and culture. Serhiy, too, was a patron of all things Ukrainian, hosting Mariupil's only Ukrainian radio program and the city's first Ukrainian television show.

Volodya and Serhiy were anxious for Taras and me to meet and talk with as many people as possible about freedom, democracy and life in independent countries. We met with students, instructors, seamen. tax-collectors. We were invited to special evenings hosted by the Greek Society of Mariupil, the Seamen's Club, the Komsomol youth organization. We were interviewed at "Prvazovska Rabocha," a local news-

paper, and on Ukrainian television. aras and I co-hosted Mariupil's halfhour Ukrainian radio program; Taras performed a live version of an Irish lullaby on Serhiy's sopilka.

Meals were an elaborate affair. Although few products could be purchased at the state-run stores, the black markets of Mariupil teemed with fresh fish, fruits and vegetables. Every home had a secret cache of champagne, homemade wine or samohonka (homebrew). Our hosts were always warm and gracious, our bellies always full.

At the time of our arrival to Mariupil, the newspaper Izvestia ran a short article about Westerners traveling to eastern Ukraine to agitate for independence. Izvestia criticized these foreigners, claiming that they had no business intruding in Ukraine's internal affairs. The people of Mariupil had read the article and were well aware that Taras and I were the very same "foreigners."

We considered the piece a feather in our caps, and used it to our advantage in our meetings with the various groups.

These meetings were conducted in an informal manner. We would introduce ourselves, explain why we had come, and open the floor to questions. Many of the people we spoke to understood Ukrainian but could not speak it; Serhiy frequently served as a Russian-Ukrainian interpreter.

Numerous questions were asked about our lives in the West; our task, however, was to illicit reactions to Ukraine's imminent independence.

A surprising number of people genuinely feared independence from Moscow.

If Moscow couldn't provide petrol and kovbasa, who would?

Here lies the paradox. Moscow, who for decades had intentionally deprived Ukraine's inhabitants of all things material, spiritual and worldly, was seen as Ukraine's Great Redeemer. People mistrusted Kiev. People mistrusted western Ukrainians, fearing that they would suffocate the eastern oblasts with their Ukrainian language and nationalist sentiment. Some believed that if Ukraine declared its independence, its borders would be closed to relatives living in Russia and Kazakhstan. Few expected life in an independent Ukraine to be better, although several were willing to give it a try.

As before, there were a handful of people who believed that independence was the only true course for Ukraine. And it was these people — Ukrainians, Russians and Greeks, their words and their actions, which truly convinced the non-believers that Ukraine must be free.

(Continued on page 12)



A scene from Mariupil's port



Eugene Duvalko supervises as members of Plast attempt to sit on each other's laps without falling.

BOOK NOTES

Bilingual children's book on dance



ETOBICOKE, Ont. — A new children's book, "I Want to Dance," has been published by Signet Publications.

It is about a boy who wants to dance in a Ukrainian dance group like his older brother. He must work hard to earn money for his boots, to learn how to dance and then has his moment of triumph on stage at the end. "This is a story about setting goals, overcoming obstacles and fulfilling one's dreams, said Christina Semkiw, author and illustrator of this book

"I Want to Dance" incorporates English and Ukrainian into one book for those children who cannot read Ukrainian well or who want to show it to their English-speaking friends.

"I Want to Dance" is available in Ukrainian bookstores, or can be ordered from Signet Publications, 10
Wingrove Hill, Etobicoke, Ontario,
Canada M9B 2C6. The price is \$8.95
(U.S.) or \$9.95 (Canadian), plus \$3 postage and handling.

Colorful book of Ukrainian medals

TORONTO - The monograph "Ukrainian Military Medals" was recently published in Toronto in both an English and Ukrainian version. Authored by Jaroslaw Semotiuk, the book is one of the first serious attempts to document and catalogue the history of Ukrainian military decorations.

50-page book features profiles of over 100 Ukrainian military medals, orders, badges, emblems, uniform patches as well as insignia and emblems of Ukrainian veterans' organizations.

Also, 51 color plates reproduce the

decorations in their actual size.

The author, Mr. Semotiuk, has been collecting and exhibiting medals for a number of years. He also collects Ukrainian banknotes. Currently, Mr. Semotiuk is the vice president and treasurer of the Toronto Ukrainian Philatelic and Numismatic Club which is affiliated with the international Ukrainian Philatelic and Numismatic So-

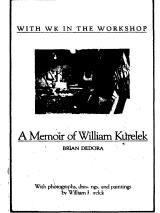
To the literature of medal collecting, the book "Ukrainian Military Medals is an indispensable addition. It is concise, comprehensive, informative and well-presented. In addition, the book provides the general public with a unique opportunity to examine the turbulent and trying military history of Ukraine as depicted by its medals



The book "Ukrainian Military Medals" is available for only \$15 from: Ukrainian Military Medals, 55 Van Dusen Blvd., Toronto, Ont. M8Z 3E8. (Please state language of preference and make checks payable to Ukrainian Military Medals).

It is also available from the Svoboda Bookstore, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, NJ 07302. When ordering from this location, please make checks payable to Svoboda.

A portrait of the artist in his workshop



JERSEY CITY, N.J. - "With WK in the Workshop: A Memoir of William

Kurelek" is a small book of recollections of this renowned artist, whose works are exhibited in the Art Gallery of Ontario, The Museum of Modern Art in New York, the National Gallery and the collection of Queen Elizabeth.

Written by Brian Dedora in a very original style, the book also contains six full color plates of William Kurelek's "Tool Paintings," 19 photographs the late Kurelek took of his workshop, and three drawings.

Brian Dedora was an apprentice framer under Mr. Kurelek, and is the author of "White Light," "He Moved," "What a City Was" and many other books. He is also an editorial board member of the avant-garde press Underwhich Editions.

At 64 pages, the paperback costs \$9.95, and may be ordered from: University of Toronto Press, 5201 Dufferin St., Downsview, Ontario, M3H 5T8.

BOOK REVIEW

Essays on Ukrainian economic development

Ukrainian Economic History. Interpretative Essays, 1.S. Koropeckyj ed., distributed by Harvard University Press for the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, Cambridge, Mass., 1991, 392 pp.

hy Marius I., Cyhulski

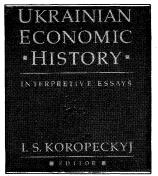
Ever since its foundation the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute has been sponsoring studies in the economy of Ukraine in order to counterbalance a trend predominant in Western scholarship which, as the editor of the newly published volume points out in the preface, focuses on the Soviet empire as a whole to the disregard of the specificity of individual republics.

The first Conference on Ukrainian Economics, held at Harvard University in 1975, analyzed the present condition of the nation's economy; the proceedings in 1981 concentrated on the development of economics. The 1985 conference traced the economic history of the country until the outbreak of World War I, a study supplemented by the fourth conference in 1990 which investigated the past two decades and considered perspectives for the beginning of the 21st century.

This new publication of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute is a collection of papers presented at the third conference in 1985. Organized by Prof. I.S. Koropeckyj of Temple University with the assistance of Prof. Frank sysyn and financial support from the Ukrainian Studies Fund, the scholarly event drew 14 presenters, specialists in Ukrainian history, from universities in the United States, Canada and Ukraine.

The volume opens with a chronology of historical events in Ukraine from the early ninth century until 1914. An essay by Prof. Koropeckyj on problems attendant on the periodization of the history of the Ukrainian economy serves as introduction to the conference papers proper. These are conveniently grouped into three sections: Kievan Rus', 17th and 18th centuries, and the 19th century. The presentations do not aim at a detailed systematic treatment of the periods; instead they highlight the most crucial problems.

Part I comprises three articles. An analysis of the role of nomads in the economic development of Rus' questions the received theme of alleged ruin resulting from nomadic depredations and presents relations between Rus' and steppe dwellers in all their political, economic, social and cultural complexity. The emergence of Kiev in the context of active commerce along the famous Varangian-Greek route to Constantinople as well as Kiev's economic position until the Mongol conquest

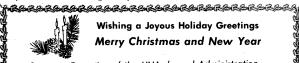


(1240) are treated in the same section. Part I also offers an insightful reconstruction of the Rus' economy on the basis of the "Pravda Ruskava," a code of ancient laws of Varangian origin. The analysis shows, among other things, that slavery was an impor-tant institution in Rus' even in the times of Jaroslav the Wise (11th century).

Contributions in Part II deal with the economic aspect of Kozakdom and the Hetmanate. Analyzed are the influence of the Baltic trade on Kozak Ukraine from 1600 to 1648, the politically conditioned limitation of Russian-Ukrainian trade in grain in the second half of the 17th century, the effects of the mercantilist policies of Peter I toward the Hetmanate and the economic isolation of Ukraine's abundant grain market within the Russian empire in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The economic developments of the 19th century receive attention in Part III. Six presenters share the results of their research in the industrial development during the first half of the century and the consequent population change: urbanization and the contrasting situation in the countryside (eastern Galicia). A separate article treats the economic integration of the Crimean Tatar lands, both the peninsula and parts of the Black Sea coast, subdued by the Russian empire in 1774.

The volume of interpretative essays in Ukrainian economic history has been published in the HURI Sources and Document Series. The new publication can be ordered from Harvard University Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 1583 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138. The cost including postage is \$24.95.



Wishing a Joyous Holiday Greetings Merry Christmas and New Year

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St. Nicholas Society UNAss'n Branch 104 of Perth Amboy, N.J.

WASYL MATKOWSKY, Secretary Marie main on an indicate the second of the

Snare The Weekly with a colleague

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Toronto Catholic schools help Church in Ukraine

tholic schools in greater Toronto were invited by the Metro Separate School Board to participate in an educational and fund-raising campaign called "Share Christmas with the Church in Ukraine." The campaign, initiated by the Rev. Ken Nowakowski, vice-chancellor of the Lviv Archeparchy, was conducted by the Rev. Peter Galadza and Sister Victoria Hunchak SSMI of Toronto.

A 17-minute educational video-tape. "The Catholic Church in Ukraine: A Documentary for Children," was produced by the Rev. Galadza and distributed in Toronto Catholic schools. The documentary gives an overview of the Church's persecution and recent resur-rection. Funding for the film was provided by the Sheptytsky Institute Foundation (Ontario Division) chaired by Luke 7 corelic by Luba Zaraska.

Almost 2,000 coin collection boxes funded by Peter Jacyk of Prombank Investment Ltd. were delivered to the schools by members of the Sheptytsky

and Holy Eucharist Councils of the Knights of Columbus.
"We felt that it was important to turn

to non-Ukrainians for help because of the enormity of the task," said Sister Victoria. However, as schools can only be asked and are not obliged to participate in the fund-raising campaign, there is no guarantee that more than a handful of schools will actually contribute, especially as the Ukrainian Catholic campaign is only one of more than 40 charities on the School Board's list.

"It's still an important educational program, even if we don't raise much money," said the Rev. Galadza. "To-ronto's Global TV station covered the campaign on their weekly show, 'Kidsbeat,' and there's been a great deal of interest in the video-tape. What we're doing then is raising future sympathizers of our Church in the Catholic community at large.

Funds generated by the campaign will be used for educational and hu-manitarian projects involving the chil-dren of the Lviv Archeparchy.



The Rev. Peter Galadza is shown screening the documentary, "The Catholic Church in Ukraine," to children from St. Elizabeth Seton Elementary School in Scarborough, Ontario.

Action item...

(Continued from page 6)

The addresses are: The Honorable (name of senator), United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510, or The Honorable (name of representative), U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20515.

Letters can also be sent to President George Bush, The White House,

Washington, D.C. 20500. Or your concerns can be voiced by calling (202) 456-

- Submitted by Peter Dudycz, Chicago.



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Yara Arts Group to premiere new work

NEW YORK - The Yara Arts Group will perform a new piece at the La MaMa Theater from January 3 to

Inspired by the volatile atmosphere in Kiev during their recent trip to the now-shattered Soviet Union, Yara Arts Group has created a new experimental theater piece, "Explosions," that examines the impact of technological disaster on individual lives. The piece is directed by Virlana Tkacz with material written and compiled by Ms. Tkacz and Wanda Phipps. Documentary material on the Chornobyl nuclear accident and scientific data are interwoven with a 1919 German Expressionist drama (Georg Kaiser's "Gas 1"), new American poetry and contemporary Ukrainian poetry.

"Explosions" presents us with ques-tions invoked by every catastrophic disaster; must we reconstruct the past that led to the disaster, or can we imagine and build a new way of life?

The piece includes poetry by Allen Ginsberg, Anne Waldman, Steven Taylor, Victoria Schultz, Wanda district with with this wi

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DUSHNYCK To price price price price price Phipps, Bohdan Boychuk, Natalka Bilotserkivets, and Ihor Liberda. It is performed in English with fragments of poetry in the original Ukrainian. The production also features live music

composed by Roman Hurko and choreography by June Anderson.
"Explosions" will premiere in the First Floor Theater at La MaMa E.T.C., 74A East Fourth Street, January 3 to Performances are Thursdays through Sundays at 8 p.m.; there are also Sunday matinees January 12 and 19 at 3 p.m. Tickets are \$10-\$12. For information and reservations, call (212) 475-7710.

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Delving...

(Continued from page 9) Donetske

I returned to Donetske with a better understanding of what the Soviet regime had done to Ukraine's people.

Our remaining days in Donetske we spent handing out flyers, taking part in a Lukianenko campaign rally, attending a meeting of Donetske's Plast scouts, and visiting coal mines. Our group of two had expanded to eight: Canadians Eugene Duvalko, Mykhailo Kostiuk, Larissa Talpash and Roman Zyla, and Donetske residents Valeriy Oliynyk, son of Maria Vasilivna, and

Twenty-seven-year-old Valeriy and 21-year-old Viktor are Ukrainian activists who took it upon themselves to acclimate, entertain and befriend our group of six.

During the previous summer's Dzvin march, they had made the acquaintance of several North American Plast scouts. Encouraged by the organization's out-door activities and education of Ukrainian youth, they formed Donetske's first-ever branch of Plast after attending an instructor's training course in Lviv. The six of us, five of whom were Plast members, were invited to attend one Saturday afternoon's meeting.

Donetske's Plast group consists of 15 boys and girls between the ages of seven and 15. These are children who are motivated to become true "plastuny." Although Valeriy and Viktor have few Plast manuals to work with, the children are incredibly versed in Plast theory and spirit. They eagerly learned the words and hand motions we taught them to the Plast camp ditty "Indians are wise," and energetically lined up to play new games of concentration.

Our next scheduled meeting was with the miners of the "Yasinovskaya-Hlybokaya" mine, the first mine in the Donbas to stage an economic strike in 1989. These were men who were well aware of the quality of their life, and frankly, as they themselves reminded us, did not need to be "agitated." Many of them were suspicious of our motives for meeting with them. Several accused our group of lobbying for certain democratic candidates, something we had agreed not to do.

Our meeting with the miners of the "Sotsialistichny Donbas" mine, however, was a real treat — they invited Larissa, Roman, Taras and me to travel down the mine shaft to explore the mine.

Larissa and I were taken to the mine's guest quarters where we were given a set of long underwear, a pair of pants, a work-shirt, a miner's hat with a de-tachable light, two towels to wrap our feet (towels keep feet warmer than socks) and steel-tipped boots. We were assigned battery and oxygen packs.

Sound does not reverberate in a coal mine. Our group walked several kilometers into the mine, and I, who was bringing up the rear because my detachable light would not attach, never heard a whisper. When we reached our destination, a wall of newly excavated coal, our guide told us that several days earlier a sheaf of coal had caved in on some equipment. I declined the 18-inch crawling tour through the freshly dug coal tunnels, preferring to watch as my three companions crawled into the bowels of the earth.

The walls of a coal mine are supported by one arching steel beam filled in by planks of wood. The temperature in the mine is so high that the miners work stripped to the waist. The walls, the amazing assortment of equipment and the men are all black; only the coal ore glimmers.

We left Donetske on the evening of November 28. I traveled on to Lviv to celebrate independence day, meet family and search for the house where my father was born.

In the six weeks that our group spent in Donetske Oblast, 734,000 flyers and 32,000 posters were distributed. The group of eight Canadians and Americans, including Taras Snihura and Ihor Vlacenko (who had both left Donetske before I had arrived), through contacts in the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society Prosvita, the choir of Ternopilians, Rukh and several miners' unions, campaigned for independence in 12 cities and villages, 16 institutes and organizations, 9 coal mines and six schools

On December 1 Donetske Oblast voted by 76 percent to uphold Ukrainian independence.

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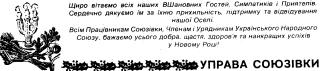
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New evidence...

(Continued from page 1)

Mr. Sheftel is out to prove that his client is not only a victim of mistaken identity, but that from the beginning of the legal action against Mr. Demjanjuk 10 years ago, he was the victim of a frame-up, reported Ernie Meyer of The Jerusalem Post.

The Jerusalem Post also reported that the prosecution had found a German document that lists Ivan Demjan-juk and his serial number, 1393, (the same number that appears in the Trawniki identity card) as having been trained at Trawniki. The new evidence also notes that Mr. Demjanjuk served at Sobibor, Flossenberg and Regensburg. However, the documents do not establish Mr. Demjanjuk's presence at Treblinka. Mr. Meyer also wrote: "Meanwhile, the appearance of the names of Demjanjuk and Marchenko in documents emanating from German

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sources seem to disprove the persecution claim that an 'Ivan the Terrible' named Marchenko did not exist and that, in fact, he was identical with Demianiuk."

Neither the chief Israeli prosecutor in the case, Michael Shaked, nor OSI director Neal Sher would comment on

the case while the appeal is pending.

Mr. Demjanjuk, a Ukrainian who emigrated to the United States in the 1950s, was stripped of his U.S. citizenship in 1981 after an investigation revealed that he had lied upon entry to the United States. He was extradited to Israel in 1986 and found guilty of war crimes in 1988.

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Mr. Sheftel asserts that the Office of Special Investigations framed Mr. Demianiuk because it was in need of "a big score" and Mr. Demjanjuk was the answer, reported The New York Times.

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NOTICE

To UNA Members and Branches

Members and Branches of the Ukrainian National As-Members and Standines of the Ordanian National Association are hereby notified that with the ending of its fiscal year the Home Office of UNA must close its accounts and deposit in banks all money received from Branches.

No Later Than Noon of December 31, 1991

Money received later cannot be credited to 1991. Therefore we appeal to all members of the UNA to pay their dues this month as soon as possible and all Branches to remit their accounts and money in time to be received by the Home Office no later than noon of TUESDAY, **DECEMBER 31, 1991.**

Notice is hereby given that Branches which send their dues late will be shown as delinquent and in arrears on the annual report.

UNA Home Office

NOTICE TO UNA

Secretaries and Organizers

The 1991 Membership Campaign ends December 31, 1991 therefore we will accept applications of new members only to December 31, 1991.

We urge you to make every effort to fulfill your quota and mail in your applications early enough to reach the Home Office by December 31, 1991.

UNA HOME OFFICE



Ukrainian National Association

Monthly reports for July

RECO	RDING	DEPARTMEN	IT
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MEMBERSHIP REPORT					
	Juv.	Adults	ADD	Totals	
TOTAL AS OF JUNE 30, 1991	17,749	44,381	5,746	67,976	
GAINS IN JULY 1991					
New members	42	49	19	110	
Reinstated	35	106		141	
Transferred in	33	80	. 20	133	
Change of class in	9	8	_	17	
Transferred from Juvenile Dept	-	_	_	. –	
TOTAL GAINS:	119	243	39	401	
LOSSES IN JULY 1991:		243	, 33	401	
Suspended	2	30	18	50	
Transferred out	33	80	20	133	
Change of class out	9	. 8	_	17	
Transferred to aduts		_	_		
Died	3	82		85	
Cash surrender	35	73	<u> </u>	108	
Endowment matured	19	34	-	53	
Fully paid-up	15	67	· —	82	
Reduced paid-up	_	_	_	·	
Extended insurance	_		_		
Certificate terminated		3	8	11	
TOTAL LOSSES; 539	116	377	46		
INACTIVE MEMBERSHIP:					
GAINS IN JULY 1991:					
Paid-up	15	67	-	82	
Extended insurance	- .	17	_	19	
TOTAL GAINS:	15	86		101	
LOSSES IN JULY 1991:					
Died	2	41		43	
Cash surrender	26	37	_	63	
Reinstated	1	8		9	
	. 5	5	_	10	
Lapsed	, 3	3		10	
TOTAL LOSSES:	34	91		125	
TOTAL UNA MEMBERSHIP AS OF					
JULY 31, 1991	17,733	44,242	5,739	67,714	

WALTER SOCHAN Supreme Secretary

FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT

INCOME FOR JULY, 1991

Dues From Members	\$348,727.44
Dues From Mouse and Consession	147.721.45
Income From "Svoboda" Operation	147,721.43
Investment Income:	#10F 701 F0
Bonds	\$195,781.53
Certificate Loans	2,351.75
Mortgage Loans	37,067.03
Banks	2.168.75
Stocks	3,259,45
Real Estate	310.129.67
Wedi Estate	010,125.07
Total	\$550,758.18
IVIAI	4550,750.10
Refunds:	
	\$21,574.58
Taxes, Federal, State & City On Employee Wages	434.66
Taxes Held In Esorow	
Employee Hospitalization Plan Premiums	1,013.78
Dividend Accumulations Ret'd	73,901.89
Office Expense Washington Office Ret'd	2,693.78
Scholarship Ret'd	200.00
Total	\$99,818.69
Miscellaneous:	
Transfer Account	1.097.250.52
Profit On Bonds Sold Or Matured	44.052.98
Sale Of "Ukrainian Encyclopaedia"	2,981.90
Reinsurance Experience Refund	427.00
	32.557.75
Donation To Fund For The Rebirth Of Ukraine	
Exchange Account-Payroll	11,099.68
Tabl	\$1,188,369,83
Total	\$1,100,303.03
In continue to	
Investments:	¢1 4C7 412 00
Bonds Matured Or Sold	\$1,467,413.29
Mortgages Repaid	61,238.09
Certificate Loans Repaid	4,396.70
	A1 500 010 00
Tétal	\$1,533,048.08
	\$3,868,443,67

DISBURSEMENTS FOR JULY, 1991	DISB	URSEN	MENTS	FOR	JULY,	1991
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Paid To Or For Members:	
Cash Surrenders	\$25,164.85
Endowments Matured	82,232.96
Death Benefits	77,868.21
Interest On Death Benefits	233.70
Reinsurance Premiums Paid	170.54 1,207,117.78
Dividend To Members	1,207,117.78
Scholarships	98,450.00
	\$1,492,248.04
[otal	\$1,432,240.04
Operating Expenses:	010 744 07
Washington Office Real Estate	\$18,744.07 346,834.85
Svoboda Operation	327,687.50
Official Publication-Svoboda	88,398.70
Prganizing Expenses:	
Advertising	\$2,028.14
Medical Inspections	260.95 71,838.13
Reward To Organizers	1,163.58
Traveling Expenses-Special Organizers	169.05
Tabal	\$7E 4E0 A1
Total	\$75,459.8
Payroll, Insurance And Taxes:	
Salary Of Executive Officers	17,662.27 45,297.75
Salary Of Office Employees Employee Benefit Plan	38,477.3
Insurance-Workmens Compensation	17,806.00
Taxes-Federal, State And City On Employee Wages	24,500.3
Total	\$143,743.6
General Expenses:	
Actuarial And Statistical Expenses	\$3,129.00 2,443.00
Books And Periodicals	130.80
Dues To Fraternal Congresses	3,275.62
Furniture & Equipment	773.38
General Office Maintenance	1,127.98
Insurance Department Fees	2,248.8
Legal Expenses-General	1,575.0 175.0
Postage	4,292.4
Printing And Stationery	1,983.5
Rental Of Equipment And Services	330.1
Telephone, Telegraph	3,747.8
Traveling Expenses-General	469.3
Total	\$25,702.0
	\$20,702.0
Miscellaneous:	#10F 0
Investment Expense-Mortgages	\$195.0 992.3
Donations	3,000.0
Accrued Interest On Bonds	16,676.7
Bond Interest Ret'd	218.8
Exchange Account-Payroll	11,099.6
Professional Fees	3,600.0
Transfer Account	1,113,348.7 6,564.8
Total	\$1,155,696.1
Investments:	
Bonds	\$1,701,277.9
Mortgages	55,000.0
Certificate Loans	2,701.7 16,685.3
Pool Estato	10,080.3
Real Estate	
Real Estate	\$1,775,665.0 \$5,450,179.9

BALANCE

Total	\$64,264,525.98	Total	\$64,264,525.98
Loan To U.N.U.R.C	6,033,401.00		
Housing Corp	104,551.04		
Loan To D.H U.N.A.			
Stocks	1,516,486.43		
Equipment	298,451.95		
Printing Plant & E.D.P.		Emergency	55,713.26
Real Estate	2,355,146.39	Old Age Home	(1,422,643.81)
Certificate Loans	605,159.08	Orphans	417,753.95
Mortgage Loans	5,158,961.69	Fraternal	(957,243.82)
Bonds	48,337,166.62	Accidental D.D	1,924,075.49
Cash	\$(144,798.22)	Life Insurance	\$64,246,871.01
ASSETS		Liabilities	

ALEXANDER BLAHITKA Supreme Treasurer

COOPERATIVE TRIBUNE

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Editor: Tamara Denyseni



HAPPY HOLIDAYS AND BEST WISHES FOR A JOYOUS AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR

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World Council of Ukr. Cooperatives 2351 West Chicago Ave. Chicago, IL 60622 Tel. (312) 489-0520

UKRAINIAN PARLIAMENT DEPUTIES ATTEND UNCUA CONFERENCE

This year's semi-annual conference was hosted by the Ukrainian Washington FCU from October 24-26, 1991 in Washington, DC. Over 60 representatives and guests from 28 US and Canadian credit unions participated in the three-day event.

In addition to technical, educational and regulatory discussions with NCUA and CUNA representatives, the conference participants met with NCUA Chairman, Senator Roger W. Jepsen during a banquet attended by representatives of RUKH and various guests from the Ukrainian-American community of Washington, DC. and vicinity.

On the invitation of the World Council of Ukrainian Cooperatives and the World Credit Union Council, Ukrainian Parlia-

ment and Presidium members — Wolodymyr Pylypchuk, chairman of the Economic Commission and Wasyl I. Yevtuchov, chairman of the Industrial Commission participated in the conference as well. After a substantive dialogue and serious exchanges of ideas and goals, representatives from the World Credit Union Council — Dale Magers, Jacck Cianciara, Dean Mahon and Gabriella Sozanski agreed to co-sponsor with the World Council of Ukrainian Cooperatives and the WCUC Ad-Hoc Committee Chairman, Bohdan Watral, a fact-finding mission to further explore the feasability of organizing credit unions in Ukraine. The mission is tentatively scheduled for Spring of 1992.



Myron Babiuk, President/Chairman of the Board, Rochester Ukrainian FCU; Tamara Denysenko; Dr. Wolodymyr Pylypchuk; Dr. Oli Havrylyshyn, Consultant to World Bank; Wasyl I. Yevtuchov; Bohdan Watral, Treasurer/Manager; Chicago Selfreliance Ukrainian FCU.



Left to Right — Nusia Woch-Kerda, Treasurer/Manager, Ukrainian Washington FCU; Olya Zaverucha, CEO So-Use Credit Union, Ltd., Toronto, Canada; Tamara Denysenko, CEO/General Manager, Rochester Ukrainian FCU; Senator Roger W. Jepsen, Chairman NCUA; Romana Dyhdalo, Board Member, Ukrainian Selfreliance Detroit FCU; Dr. Natalia Hryhorchuk; Ulana Hrynewych, Office Manager, Chicago Selfreliance FCU; Nadia Hayducke, Treasurer/Manager, Selfreliance Streente FCU;

YOUR UKRAINIAN CREDIT UNIONS SERVE YOU BEST!!

Check this list for ideas on what we offer credit union members. Call a Ukrainian credit union nearest you for more information about some of the following services!!

LOAN SERVICES — Consumer loans • Bill consolidation • New auto loans • Used car loans • first mortgages • second mortgages • home equity lines-of-credit • mobile home loans • home improvement loans • boat and RV loans • youth and student loans • immediate share loans • VISA credit cards

SAVING SERVICES — Basic share accounts • IRA's • trust accounts • youth accounts • family accounts • money market accounts • short and long-term certificates



INSURANCE COVERAGE — Share deposit insurance up to \$2,000 • loan protection insurance to \$10,000 • credit disability insurance

MEMBER ACCOUNT and CONVEN-IENCE SERVICES — Business and organization accounts • direct deposit • payroll deduction • share drafts/checking accounts • notary service, and much much more.

MAKE 1992 COUNT — JOIN A UKRAINIAN CREDIT UNION

There is nothing like belonging to a credit union, where the early credit union motto "not for profit, not for charity, but for service" still is used today.

The 28 credit unions of the Ukrainian National Credit Union Association are for, of and by the members. That is they are democratic, member-controlled financial institution with a qualified volunteer Board of Directors that works for the entire membership's best interest. Ukrainian credit unions within the framework of UNCUA work together as well to offer various beneficial financial, social and community services to members within their "common bond". The Ukrainian Selfreliance Association, numerous Ukrainian churches, fraternal, youth associations and affiliated organizations serve as a "common bond" for over 60,000 members. Still, over 90% of eligible members have not yet taken advantage of this unique credit union membership.

Membership is encouraged and open to entire families through "full family" and "once a member, always a member" credit union policies. As "cooperative" organizations, Ukrainian credit unions return the money they make back to members in a variety of ways. Dividends, like interest paid by other institutions, are paid to members usually at competitive or better rates. Loan rates that are generally lower than at other institutions are also a way of returning funds back to the membership. New and innovative services are continuously adapted to meet specific needs of the members.

Credit union services are developed to improve the economic and social wellbeing of all members rather than to maximize profits. Decisions made by the credit unions are done with the full regard for the interest of the artise community as until

interest of the entire community, as well. The Ukrainian credit union's mission has always been to serve the financial needs of the membership and to fulfill its civic and community obligations consistent with credit union principles and philosophy. However, this can only be achieved with the full and continuous support of each and every Ukrainian-American.

Khmara to lecture in United States

Khmara, people's deputy of the Ukrainian Supreme Council, has accepted an invitation from Prof. Edward J. Rozek of the University of Colorado at Boulder to travel to the United States to lecture on "Ukraine's Struggle for Freedom and Independence.

Dr. Khmara's lecture will take place on Tuesday, January 28, 1992, at 7 p.m. at the University of Colorado's Boulder campus. It will be followed by a private dinner in Dr. Khmara's honor, hosted by Prof. Rozek and attended by prominent

This visit marks Dr. Khmara's first journey to North America. former political prisoner, Dr. Khmara is one of the founding members of the Ukrainian Republican Party. Other details of Dr. Khmara's visit



Stepan Khmara

to the United States and Canada are being planned.

Museum features Ukrainian Canadian experience

HULL, Quebec - The Canadian Museum of Civilization has been featuring "Art and Ethnicity: The Ukrainian Tradition in Canada." The exhibit will continue through February 21, 1993.

The exhibit covers Ukrainian Canathe exhibit covers Oktainian Canadian immigration, folklore, religion and art in sections called "Coming to Canada," "Legacy of Faith," "Celebration" and "Pysanky." There are works by over 100 artists from Canada and audio-visual presentations.

There will also be performances during the winter season by The Cantata Singers and leading Ukrainian Canadian bands. A series of films will be shown as well.

The museum is located at 100 Laurier St. For further information, call (819) 776-7000

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The Weekly: Ukrainian perspective on the news

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PREVIEW OF EVENTS

December 2 - January 30

NEW YORK: Taras Schumylowych's artwork is being displayed in a member's art group show of Composers, Authors and Artists of America, Inc., at Manhattan Savings Bank, 90 Park Ave. at 40th Street.

NANTICOKE, Pa.: A special one-hour Ukrainian Christmas program will be broadcast on WNAK, 730 on the AM dial. The program will feature customs, traditions and Christmas carols. It was produced and directed by Dr. Walter Karpinich, professor of language and literature at Wilkes University.

December 29

NEW YORK: The Ukrainian chorus "Dumka" will perform Ukrainian Christ-mas carols at St. Patrick's Cathedral, Fifth Avenue and 51st Street at 4:45 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA: There will be a "Ukie Singles New Year's Eve party at Ulana's, 205 Bainbridge, beginning at 10 p.m. The price of \$20 includes a buffet, party favors, open bar from midnight to 1 a.m., dancing and a continental breakfast. further information, call (215) 922-4152.

YONKERS, N.Y.: The Ukrainian Ski Association invites everyone to a New Year's Eve Dinner/Dance at the Ukrainian Youth Center, 301 Palisades Ave. The dance, which will begin at 9 p.m., Includes an open bar and gourmet buffet. The cost is \$69. For further information, call Alesia Kozicky, (914) 969-4200 (days) or (914) 961-3646 (evenings).

YONKERS, N.Y.: There will be a Malanka dance at the Ukrainian Youth Center, 301 Palisades Ave. at 9 p.m. The band Aleksa will play. Admission, which includes champagne and a buffet, is \$15 for adults \$10 for those up to 18 years

old. For further information and to order tables, call W. Kozicky, (914) 969-4200 (days), or (914) 476-7147 (evenings).

SPRING HILL Fla . St. Losanhat Ukrainian Catholic Church will have its traditional Malanka Dinner Dance at the hall of the Knights of Columbus with dancing until midnight. Cocktails begin at 6 p.m. and dinner at 7 p.m. Donations are \$15 per person. For further information and tickets, call (813) 686-8754 or (904) 596-7300

January 19

WHIPPANY, N.J.: The second annual SUM Yalynka, including a short program and traditional Ukrainian Christmas supper will be held at St. John the Baptist Ukrainian Church, Route 10 and Jefferson Rd., at 3 p.m. For further information, call (201) 989-4035.

WHIPPANY, N.J.: The Plast Newark Debutante Ball will be held at the Hanover Marriot Hotel, with cocktails beginning at 6:30 p.m. and presentation of debutantes at 7:30 p.m. The Nove Pokolinnia and Tempo bands will supply dance music. The cost for the dinner and dance is \$65, for students under 23, \$40, and for the dance only, \$40 (at the door). For further information, call (201) 514-1846. All reservations must be paid by January 24.

PREVIEW OF EVENTS, a listing of Ukrainian community events open to the public, is a service provided free of charge by The Weekly to the Ukrainian community. To have an event listed in this column, please send information (type of event, date, time, place, admission, sponsor etc.), along with the phone number of a person who may be reached during dayime hours for additional information to: PREVIEW OF EVENTS. The Ukrainian Weekly, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, N.J. 07302.

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Іай Нам Боже Довгий Вік God Grant Us Long Life

A new release from Ukraine, this film depicts in detail the four traditional holidays: Easter, Pentacost, The Transfiguration and Christmas, as they are celebrated by Ukrainians in the various regions of Ivano Frankivsk Oblast. The sounds and sights of this film will touch your heart. A combined production of Dovzhenko and Zoloti Vorota Film studios of Kiev. Color - In Ukrainian - 90 Min.

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